he Revolutionary Age

A Chronicle and Interpretation of Events in Europe

.. I, No. 10 — Saturday, December 21, 1918 — Price, 3 Cents

The Russian Soviet Republic Speaks to President Wilson

Note of Soviet Commissaire of Foreign Affairs, transmitted October 24, 1918.

Mr President:

(your message of January 4th to the Congress of the United States of North America, in the sixth point, you spoke of your profound sympathy for .ussia, which was then conducting, single handed, egotiations with the mighty German Imperialism. our program, you declared, demands the evacuation all Russian territory and such a settlement of all estions affecting Russia as will secure the best and est co-operation of the other nations of the world obtaining for her unhampered and unembarrassed portunity for the independent determination of her litical development and national policy, and assure a sincere welcome into the society of free nations der institutions of her own choosing; and, more n a welcome, assistance of every kind that she y need and may herself desire. And you added t the "treatment accorded to Russia by her sister ions in the months to come will be the acid test of eir good-will, of their comprehension of her needs distinguished from their own interests, and of their elligent and unselfish sympathy."

The desperate struggle which we were waging at rest-Litovsk against German Imperialism apparly only intensified your sympathy for Soviet Rus-, for you sent greetings to the Congress of the viets (March, 1918), which under the threat of a rman offensive ratified the Brest peace of vio-ce,—greetings and assurances that Soviet Russia ght count upon American help.

Six months have passed since then, and the Russian ople have had sufficient time to get actual tests of ur Government's and your Allies' good-will, of their omprehension of the needs of the Russian people, of eir intelligent unselfish sympathy. This attitude of our Government and of your Allies was shown first f all in the conspiracy, which was organized on Russian territory with the financial assistance of your rench Allies and with the diplomatic co-operation of our Government as well—the conspiracy of the Czecho-Slovaks to whom your Government is furshing every kind of assistance.

For some time attempts had been made to create a pretext for a war between Russia and the United States of North America by spreading false stories to he effect that German war prisoners had seized the S" erian railway, but your own officers and after n Colonel Robbins, head of your Red Cross Mis-, had been convinced that these allegations were olutely false. The Czecho-Slovak conspiracy was anized under the slogan that unless these misled, ortunate people be protected, they would be surdered to Germany and Austria; but you may find , among other sources, from the open letter of ptain Sadoul, of the French Military Mission, how founded this charge is. The Czecho-Slovaks would ve left Russia in the beginning of the year, had the nch Government provided ships for them. For eral months we waited in vain that your Allies uld provide the opportunity for the Czecho-Slo- to leave. Evidently, these Governments have much preferred the presence of the Czecho-aks in Russia—the results show for what object their departure for France and their participa- in the fighting on the French frontier. The best f of the real object of the Czecho-Slovak rebell- s the fact that although in control of the Siberian ay, the Czecho-Slovaks have not taken advan- of this to leave Russia, but by the order of the nte Gover ents, whose directions they follow, remained n Russia to become the mainstay of Russian c unter-revolution. Their counter-revo- ry mut.ny which made impossible the trans- on of grain and petroleum on the Volga, which the Russian workers and peasants from the n stores of grain and other materials and con- l them to starvation,—this was the first experi- the workers and peasants of Russia with your Government and with your Allies after your promises at the beginning of the year. And then came another experience; an attack on North Russia by Allied troops, including American troops, their invasion of Russian territory without any cause and without a declaration of war, the occupation of Russian cities and villages, executions of Soviet officials and other acts of violence aganst the peaceful population of Russia.

You have promised, Mr. President, to co-operate with Russia in order to obtain for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her political development and her national policy. Actually this co-operation took the form of an attempt of the Czecho-Slovak troops and later, in Archangel, Murmansk and the Far East, of your own and your Allies' troops, to force the Russian people to submit to the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes, whose dominion was overthrown by the workers and peasants of Russia in November, 1917. The revival of the Russian counter-revolution, which had already become a corpse, attempts to restore by force its bloody domination over the Russian people—such was the experience of the Russian people, instead of co-operation for the unembarrassed expression of their will which you promised them, Mr. President, in your declarations.

You have also, Mr. President, promised to the Russian people to assist them in their struggle for independence. Actually this is what has occurred: while the Russian people were fighting on the Southern front against the counter-revolution, which betrayed them to German Imperialism and was threatening their indepedence, while they were using all their energy to organize the defense of their territory against Germany on their Western frontiers, they were forced to move their troops to the East to oppose the Czecho-Slovaks who were bringing them slavery and oppression, and to the North—against your Allies and your own troops which had invaded their territory, and against the counter-revolution by these troops.

Mr. President, the acid test of the relations between the United States and Russia gave quite different results from those that might have been expected from your message to the Congress. But we have reason not to be altogether dissatisfied with even these results, since the outrages of the counter-revolution in the East and North have shown the workers and peasants of Russia the aims of the Russian counter-revolution, and of its foreign supporters, thereby creating among the Russian people an iron will to defend their liberty and the conquests of the revolution, to defend the land that it has given to the peasants and the factories that it has given to the workers. The fall of Kazan, Symbrsk, Syzran and Samara should make clear to you, Mr. President, what were the consequences for us of the actions which followed your promises of January 4. Our trials helped us to create a strongly united and disciplined Red Army, which is daily growing stronger and more powerful and which is learning to defend the Revolution. The attitude toward us, which was actually displayed by your Government and by your Allies, could not destroy us; on the contrary, we are now stronger than we were a few months ago, and your present proposal of international negotiations for a general peace finds us alive and strong and in a position to give in the name of Russia our consent to join the negotiations. In your note to Germany you demand the evacuation of occupied territories as a condition which must precede the armistice during which peace negotations shall begin. We are ready, Mr. President, to conclude an armistice on these conditions, and we ask you to notify us when you, Mr. President, and your Allies intend to remove troops from Murmansk, Archangel and Siberia. You refuse to conclude an armistice, unless Germany will stop outrages, pillaging, etc., during the evacuation of occupied territories. We allow ourselves, therefore, to draw the conclusion that you and your Allies will order the Czecho-Slovaks to return the part of our gold reserve fund which they seized in Kazan, that you will forbid them to continue as heretofore their acts of pillaging and outrages against the workers and peasants during their forced departure (for we will encourage their speedy departure, without waiting for your order).

With regard to other peace terms, namely, that the Governments which would conclude peace must express the will of their people, you are aware that our Government fully satisfies this condition. Our Government expresses the will of the Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, representing at least eighty per cent. of the Russian people. This cannot, Mr. President, be said about your Government. But for the sake of humanity and peace we do not demand, as a prerequisite of general peace negotiations, that all nations participating in the negotiations shall be represented by Councils of People's Commissaries elected at a Congress of Councils of Workmen's, Peasants' and Soldiers' Delegates. We know that this form of Government will soon be the general form, and that precisely a general peace, when nations will no more be threatened with defeat, will leave them free to put an end to the system and the cliques that forced upon mankind this universal slaughter, and which will, in spite of themselves, surely lead the tortured peoples to create Soviet Governments, which give exact expression to their will.

Agreeing to participate at present in negotiations with even such Governments as do not yet express the will of the people, we should like on our part to find out from you, Mr. President, in detail what is your conception of the League of Nations, which you propose as the crowning work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, Belgium and freedom for the peoples of Austria-Hungary. You probably mean by this that the masses of the people must everywhere first become the masters of their own fate in order to unite afterward in a league of free nations. But strangely enough, we do not find among your demands the liberation of Ireland, Egypt or India, nor even the liberation of the Philippines, and we would be very sorry if these peoples should be denied the opportunity to participate together with us, through their freely elected representatives, in the organization of the League of Nations.

We would also, Mr. President, very much like to know, before the negotiations, with regard to the formation of a League of Nations, have begun, what is your conception of the solution of many economic questions which are essential for the cause of future peace. You do not mention the war expenditures—this unbearable burden, which the masses would have to carry, unless the League of Nations should renounce payments on the loans to the capitalists of all countries. You know as well as we, Mr. President, that this war is the outcome of the policies of all capitalistic nations, that the governments of all countries were continually piling up armaments, that the ruling groups of all civilized nations pursued a policy of annexations, and that it would, therefore, be extremely uniust if the masses, having paid for these policies with millions of lives and with economic ruin, should yet pay to those who are really responsible for the war a tribute for their policies which resulted in all these countless miseries. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, the annulment of the war loans as the basis of the League of Nations. As to the restoration of the countries that were laid waste by the war, we believe it is only just that all nations should aid for this purpose unfortunate Belgium, Poland and Serbia, and however poor and ruined Russia seems to be, she is ready on her part to do everything she can to help these victims of the war, and she expects that

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The Revolutionary Age

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ISSUED EVERY WEDNESDAY AND SATURDAY
By Local Boston, Socialist Party
H. G. Steiner, Business Manager
885 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
Three months, $1.00; bundles, 2c a copy

Saturday, December 21, 1918

They Are Still There!

A dispatch to the New York Times from Irkutsk of December 9, refers to General Janin, head of the French army in Siberia, as believing that the Bolsheviki are the paid agents of Germany. Apparently the worthy general has not heard of the recent changes that have taken place in Berlin and is laboring under the delusion that the people of the Allied countries are still swallowing this old story.

It is very necessary that generals should be informed of just what is transpiring, and what story is being circulated for general consumption, as they are liable to let the cat out of the bag by just such slips as this one of General Janin's. Doubtless the French government will correct this mistake and the next time we hear from the general he will have the correct reason for his presence in Russia—such as preventing the slaughter of the bourgeoisie by the Bolsheviki or whatever is the current excuse.

Anyhow things are not going so well in Russia. It would appear that the various governments are not bringing the satisfaction to the people, that was at first reported. Even the Czecho-Slovaks, in whose interest the forces of democracy have invaded the territory of a country with whom they are not at war, have turned ingrates and refuse to support Admiral Kolchak's government, while at Vladivostok, the situation is becoming tense owing to the activities of some of these "generals" who have sprang into such prominence since the landing of the Allied troops.

What is the real object of the Allies in Russia? Whom do they wish to set up as the governors of Russia in place of the Bolsheviki? If the Bolsheviki are not representatives of the people of Russia how is it that the Allied troops, in conjunction with the majority of the Russian people, cannot overthrow these few ursupers, who, if we are to believe all reports, represent nobody?

Another dispatch chronicles the meeting of the "four ambassadors of the revolutionary regime in Russia" at Paris for the purpose of having representation for "Russia" at the Peace Conference. Bakmeteff, Maklakoff, Stakhovich, and Giers—four ambassadors of the counter-revolution who dare not appear in Russia—meet in Paris "regarding the Peace Conference." But there is no peace in Russia, there is no peace for the workers and peasants who have thrown off their chains. Alien troops are still in Archangel and Vladivostok. . . .

The Red Flag

SENATOR New has introduced a bill in the Senate to prevent the display of the Red Flag anywhere in the United States and a simliar bill has also been laid before the House of Representatives by Congressman Osborne of California. It is perhaps fitting that a representative of the State which has supinely acquisced in, aye even welcomed, the attempt to lynch Tom Mooney, should stand sponsor for such a bill, a bill at once the symbol of bourgeois tyranny and the expression of bourgeois fear.

The Red Flag has waved, undisturbed by statutes or acts of Congress, for many years in this country. It has been raised in every country on the face of the known earth, by representatives of every race inhabiting the globe, and only where it symbolized the ideals of a strong minority has it ever been interfered with by governments. So long as only a weak few felt the throb of the red blood of international brotherhood in their veins, the Red Flag was left undisturbed. But now that the Red Flag floats over the palaces of two mighty autocrats, now that the fierce resurgent throb of the blood of the International is pulsing in the hearts of millions, the autocrats who still flourish take council together and banish this symbol of the coming era.

After the fashion of the ostrich, who hides its head in the sand that it may not see what it knows exists, they bury their faces in musty statutes that they may not look on the advancing army of the awakened workers of the world.

The symbol of the international solidarity of the proletariat is banished while the spirit of internationalism rises strong and triumphant out of the holocaust of fratricial war!

A New Move by Labor

THE Boston Central Labor Union at its last meeting voted to instruct its secretary to write to officers of the American Federation of Labor and of affiliated international unions, asking their support in an effort to induce the workers of the country to prepare for a one-day general strike as a protest against the writing of a prohibition amendment into the Federal Constitution. This is a step forward for labor, an awakening to the consciousness of their power to force the hand of the political government of the country, it is a step towards the creation of a workers' government. It would however be foolish to suppose that any of those responsible for this action were conscious of its import. They would be the first to indignantly refute the suggestion that they were practising a form of Bolshevism, as a matter of fact it is evident that the suggestion came from the reactionary forces, probably from some under the influence of the brewers. If memory serves us rightly this very body voted against a one-day general strike in the Mooney case. However reactionary these central labor unions may be, the fact that they have awakened to the utility of direct action on the industrial field as a means of influencng legislation, is a distinct step forward and it is certain that once the average unionist becomes accustomed to this method of enforcing his desires he will not always confine his efforts to the petty affairs of life.

It is a singular commentary on American Labor that its first direct attempt to apply its economic might to problems hitherto commonly supposed to be purely political, should spring from the desire of the worker to protect his beer and we are forced to admit that this action is typical of the narrow, selfish, petty-minded A. F. of L. delegate. When thousands of workers lie in jail all over the country, when repressive measures are being passed against the spokesmen of the militant, clear-visioned section of the working class, when the United States Supreme Court can nullify legislation restricting the employment of child labor, this delegated body of organized labor can only think of its beer. Nevertheless this action places within reach of the progressive section of the A. F. of L. a weapon which may be used for very different ends than those who fashion it ever dreamed of, and in the not far distant future.

While Congress moves to bar the Red flag labor, unconscious though it may be of the significance of its action, threatens to move to bar Congress.

The White Terror

ON an other page we print an account of conditions in Finland where, for a time the bourgeoisie have succeeded in gaining the upper hand. Even in the most exaggerated stories of the Red Terror of the French Revolution, Madam Guillotine never drank so deep nor so often of the blood of the aristocrats, as do the insatiable bourgeoisie drink of the blood of the working class. In one prison camp alone a letter tells that the average daily toll is nearly seventy victims, nor are these victims mercifully killed, the descending stroke of the knife does not end tures, they die the victims of slow disease bro by starvation diet and the foul stench of the d corpses of the earlier martyrs.

And not one word of protest is heard from the ernments of the world, not a voice is lifted to this vicious slaughter that has no long er e plea of the heat of civil war to excuse its exc No wonder the Russian Soviet Republic replied to hypocritical protest of the neutral powers against t so-called Red Terror of the workers, with bitin words of scorn. If they so desired the powers in th world, even the neutral powers alone, could end over night this debauch of slaughter by the Finnish bou geoisie. But no word will be spoken because no s tion has an interest in speaking. The slaughter being carried out against the workers, in the intere of the continuance of the present system of societ and so the world holds its peace.

"Our salvation will come." Reads one brave lette "It lies in the lap of the world revolution. And fo that we live. Send our greeting to the proletariat o the world and convey to it that within us faith a fighting spirit are not dead. Long live the Zimm wald International." Alone, unfriended, these F nish workers ever keep their faith firm in the men a women of their own class throughout the world. Sh the workers be false to this faith? The blood of th forefathers, their present daily sweat in the agony industry, the cries of their hungry children, dema that the workers of all lands stand by their Finn brethern.

Speak, workers of the world, and demand that yo governments cry halt to the Calvary of Finland!

The Passing of Ebert

WITH the fall of the Ebert Government t Kerensky stage of the German revolution passed. With the example and the advice Revolutionary Russia to guide them the German wo ers have accomplished in six weeks what took th Russian brothers six months. The Congress of Wo men's and Soldier's delegates, which was to save tottering conglomeration of moderate Socialists, bou geoisie and a few aristocrats known as the Ebe government, has vindicated its revolutionary integri and that government is no more.

It is significant that the fall of the right So cialists was brought about over the very means was providing for its own perpetuation—the reten tion of the army in its old form, more or less und its old masters, and very much for its old purpo the suppression of the will of the workers. All through the proclamations of the bourgeois-Socialis government during the last six weeks ran the cover threat of the use of the "loyal" troops to supp "anarchy," and it was as a result of the charges Georges Ledebour and Richard Barth, that the fusal of the government to demobilize the army inspired by counter-revolutionary desires, that Congress bolted to the left. That the Ebert-Ha Scheidemann government could not last for length of time was a foregone conclusion, it plea neither the bourgeoisie nor the workers and remain in power only due to the lull, the sparring for opening, which naturally takes place during the pe when the alignment of forces is still indistinct. fall subsequent to only a few verbal attacks f quarters that have not as yet proven to be defin of the left wing, merely shows its inherent weak the absolute lack of confidence reposed in it by the moderate section of the masses.

Whether or not the government that will ris its ashes will be definitely Bolshevist it is hard at moment to say, but it is easy to see that the Bolsh or Spartacus group, as they are known in Ger must conquer power within the next few month independent Socialsts are in the nature of known quantity. Their actions, when they brok from the majority Socialists early in 1916, wer of moderate Socialism as opposed to the r

of bourgeois liberalism. All through the war worked for reforms rather than revolution, and the outbreak of the revolution they showed an nation to support the Ebert government. Lede- represents the most radical faction of the Inde- lents and will in all probability stand with the as the revolution progresses, but Barth's parti- ion in the government would throw a doubt upon position, unless he was in the government for the y purpose of Tuesday's actions.

The greatest bulwark to the Ebert government was loubtedly the presence of the Allied troops on the ine, and the fear of Allied intervention which it s continually holding over the heads of the people. r some time past the bourgeois press of the Allied untries has be circulating the rumor that the ert governme as asked for the Allied occupation Berlin, but e wish is probably father to the ought as any such invitation would remove the chief ason for the government's continuance—its guaran- e of the "orderliness" of the revolution, preventing tion by the Allies.

After Tuesday's demonstration it is evident that e German workers and soldiers see their way clear asmuch as they are determined to establish Social- n. They recognize that Allied intervention is not factor in the sum if they desire Socialism, because ith the establishment of a Socialist state their bour- oisie will appeal for Allied intervention, while the actionaries of the Allied countries will call for the cupation of Germany as soon as it is clear that the a of bourgeois democracy is not acceptable to the rman people. It will not matter who heads the cialist government, if it is Socialist intervention ll come, if the reactionaries of both Germany and d the Allies have their way.

Apparently the German people see that they have nly the choice of Socialism and probable intervention y the Associate Powers, or bourgeois democracy. The press of the Allied countries clearly points out s wish for intervention if "disorder" ensues in Ger- many, and, while at the time this term was being irst applied to Russia it left some doubt as to what constituted disorder, it is now clear that "disorder" means the establishment of a Socialist government by the workers and peasants. Such a government means the expropriation of the capitalists and land- owners, and this is what constitutes "disorder" to the bourgeoisie.

uch a government also means the spreading of olutionary propaganda in the adjacent countries, abolition of secret diplomacy, a definite revolu- ary alliance with Russia, a strengthening of the wer of the workers everywhere, a weakening of international ring of Capitalism and these are order" to bourgeois Imperialism. It also means anding basis of comparison for the workers of r countries whereby they may judge their own dition—and comparisons are odious. . . .

here is no middle way. A government cannot half Capitalist and half Socialist. And there no "extremes" either. There is only Capitalism ocialism. The German people are faced with the ion. They must choose Capitalism and all that eans to the workers, or they must choose Social- and all its consequences. No amount of vacillat- can change the situation.

uesday's results show that the tendency in Ger- is to choose Socialism. The next few days will whether or not the German workers can make choice unfalteringly.

they choose haltingly, going towards the left but throwing backward glances towards the past, the Independent Socialists will form the next ent and the definite conquest of the revolu- still lie in the future, but if they choose fear- did the Russians, then the rise to power of tacides with Liebknecht at their head is and the only task lying ahead of the Ger- ple is that of consolidating and maintaining lution—a herculean task, but still fitted to can choose fearlessly.

The Labor Situation

WITHIN the past few weeks the "labor question" has leaped into prominence. Not only are the "official representatives" of organized labor getting anxious but even the upper classes are beginning to be solicitous about the "welfare" of the workers—Schwab, Redfield, Caldwell and similar captains of industry and leaders of the reactionary Civic Federation. All round there is a feeling of uneasiness which arises not from any scruples of "conscience," but from fear.

The "civil peace" between capital and labor, proclaimed by Gompers at the time of this country's entrance into the war, is over. It is true that this "peace" was sometimes violated by one side or the other but in the main it tied that section of the workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, hand and foot. The War Labor Board, which was established by the government for the purpose of preventing strikes, announces that it will henceforth only intervene when called upon by both sides. It is true that a few strikes did eventuate in spite of its labors, that in some cases the employers refused to submit to its rulings but in the main it simply forced the workers to submit to compulsory arbitration and succeeded in keeping them quiet. Gompers and Co. saw to it that they did remain quiet, but the war was their great aid in this respect, preventing the bosses from squeezing the workers too tight while keeping the workers from asserting themselves from patriotic motives, besides supplying them with plenty of work and "fabulous" wages.

With the war's end, however, capital again began to insist upon "its rights." The noise of the peace celebration had hardly subsided when a prominent representative of capital forgot to be discreet and stated that the time was ripe for the abolition of the eight-hour working day and a return to pre-war wage standards. Gompers, of course, had to issue a public defy to this gentleman, but after a few paragraphs in the press the matter quietly dropped.

But breakers are ahead. unemployment is approaching, wages are dropping. The suspension of war contracts has already thrown thousands on the market, and the haphazard demobilization of the troops at present being carried out is still further swelling the ranks of the unemployed. The vice-Chairman of the unemployed Bureau of the Labor Department in commenting on the situation refers to the fact that the War Department, for some reasons unknown, has found it necessary to begin demobilization of the army without considering whether or not the soldiers are needed in industry. He points to the fact that among these discharged soldiers thousands of agricultural workers are to be found, who at this season of the year will be unable to find work on the farms and will necessarily have to turn to the industrial centers for work. If they are successful in obtaining employment it will be hard to withraw them in the spring when they will be needed on the farms.

The soldiers are being demobilized, after a few days notice with only enough money in their pockets to enable them to reach their destinations and keep them for, at most, a few weeks. In many cities discharged soldiers are already found without a cent and it is coming increasingly clear that unless urgent measures are taken in the immediate future, the bread line, the vast throngs of shelterless, moneyless men and women, the results of unemployment, will become general thoughout the country, as they were in 1914. Only this time the unemployed will not be the supine, beaten unthinking mob of 1914. In this army of unemployed will be men, and women too, who have become accustomed to the idea that they are of some value to the country, that in its time of need it was to them the country turned. . . .

These facts are not lost sight of by the industrial barons of this country, but it will be a race between greed and foresight and the indications are that greed will win. Anxiety as to the outcome of these conditions are manifest in the speeches of the more advanced of the captains of industry, when they hypocritically pretend to defend the workers' interests. They appeal to the "commonsense" of the capitalists, to their patriotism, to their humanity. In reality they are endeavoring to sound a warning without letting the workers know the potentialities of coming events, they know that wages will take a decided drop as soon as the labor market becomes flooded, that some employers will challenge a strike secure in the knowledge that an overflowing labor market furnishes a plentitude of strike-breakers, but they also know that, with the spread of Socialism in Europe and the general awakening of thought among the masses, big industrial struggles can only result in disaster for the capitalists.

Schwab furnishes an example of the far-seeing type of capitalist. In a recent speech devoted to the wide possibilities before American capital, he draws the attention of the capitalists to the necessity of their joining the labor "cause." "We must exert all our efforts in order that the workers should work and be content. Things must be done in such a way that they will regard the situation with our eyes and aid us in our work. We must affect a closer contact with the workers. We must patiently listen to their side and must act so that they will patiently listen to ours." Mr. Scwab proposes to reject the old methods, for, in his opinion, they might bring about a catastrophe which would prove extremely dangerous to American industry.

But the proletariat of the United States is beginning to see the light. Unrest is beginning to develop which indicates an awakening from the heavy and unhealthy sleep into which they have been lulled both by their foes and by their false friends.

Bolshevikjabs

ONLY a short time ago most people spent their spare time writing to the newspapers denying their pacifist proclivities, now even the Kaiser is emphatic in affirming his pronounced pacifism.

Truly, truth is eternal.

* * *

Lloyd-George became very much annoved because the British Labor Party contains men who do not labor with their hands. He urged the workers of England to refuse to vote for these non-manual workers and modestly offered himself as an alternative. In other words: of two evils choose the worst.

* * *

It is now fairly clear that the Bolsheviki were not German agents, but that not a few Germans were Bolshevik agents—very much to the discomfiture of the German Junkers.

* * *

Says Arthur Brisbane, the well-known prohibitionist:

"The mob (of Russians) that enjoyed murdering helpless Jews under the Czar discovers that it needs something more than the vague word 'freedom' and the leadership of an East Side New York sweat-shop worker to solve its problems."

Of course if Russia was under the leadership of a sweat-shop *owner* everything would be alright, it wouldn't even matter whether he came from New York or not. Though the men now executing the orders of the Russian people never worked in a New York sweat-shop, they seem to have a vague idea that sweat-shops do flourish in democracies.

* * *

Anyway it is easily seen that Arthur is determined to be displeased with Russia's methods. He didn't like it when the Jews were being slaughtered, although he kept his feelings well under control when the Czar was functioning, and he doesn't like it when they are not being slaughtered.

* * *

Mayor Hylan of New York wants all alien agitators deported. We suppose that what has happened to the other members of the trinity, Hearst, Hylan and Hohenzollern, is making the worthy mayor nervous.

* * *

The republicans have become converted to the idea of a League of Nations, as have Lord Robert Cecil, it looks as if the whole affair was going to end in an international Trust company.

The Russian Soviet Republic Speaks to President Wilson

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American capital, which has not at all suffered from this war and has even made many millions in profit out of it, will do its part to help these peoples.

But the League of Nations should not only liquidate the present war, but also make impossible any wars in the future. You must be aware, Mr. President, that the capitalists of your country are planning to apply in the future the same policies of encroachment and of super-profits in China and Sibeira and that, fearing competition from Japanese capitalists, they are preparing a military force to overcome the resistance which they may meet from Japan. You are no doubt aware of similar plans of the capitalist ruling circles of other countries with regard to other territories and other peoples. Knowing this, you will have to agree with us that the factories, mines and banks must not be left in the hands of private persons, who have always made use of the vast means of production created by the masses of the people to export products and capital to foreign countries in order to reap super-profits in return for the benefits forced on them, their struggle for spoils resulting in imperialistic wars. We propose, therefore, Mr. President, that the League of Nations be based on the expropriation of the capitalists of all countries. In your country, Mr. President, the banks and the industries are in the hands of such a small group of capitalists that, as your personal friend, Colonel Robbins, assured us, the arrest of twenty heads of capitalistic cliques and the transfer of the control, which by characteristic capitalistic methods they have come to possess, into the hands of the masses of the people is all that would be required to destroy the principal source of new wars. If you will agree to this, Mr. President,—if the source of future wars will thus be destroyed, then there can be no doubt that it would be easy to remove all economic barriers and that all peoples, controlling their means of production, will be vitally interested in exchanging the things they do not need for the things they need. It will then be a question of an exchange of products between nations, each of which produces what it can best produce, and the League of Nations will be a league of mutual aid of the toiling masses. It will then be easy to reduce the armed forces to the limit necessary for the maintenance of internal safety.

We know very well that the selfish capitalist class will attempt to create this internal menace, just as the Russian landlords and capitalists are now attempting with the aid of American, English and French armed forces to take the factories from the workers and the land from the peasants. But, if the American workers, inspired by your idea of a League of Nations, will crush the resistance of the American capitalists as we have crushed the resistance of the Russian capitalists, then neither the German nor any other capitalists will be a serious menace to the victorious working class, and it will then suffice, if every member of the commonwealth, working six hours in the factory, spends two hours daily for several months in learning the use of arms, so that the whole people will know how to overcome the internal menace.

And so, Mr. President, though we have had experience with your promises, we nevertheless, accept as a basis your proposals about peace and about a League of Nations. We have tried to develop them in order to avoid results which would contradict your promises, as was the case with your promise of assistance to Russia. We have tried to formulate with precision your proposals on the League of Nations in order that the League of Nations should not turn out to be a league of capitalists against the nations. Should you not agree with us, we have no objection to an "open discussion of your peace terms," as your first point of your peace program demands. If you will accept our proposals as a basis, we will easily agree on the details.

But there is another possibility. We have had dealings with the president of the Archangel attack and the Siberian invasion, and we have also had dealings with the president of the League of Nations Peace Program. Is not the first of these—the real president, actually directing the policies of the American capitalist Government? Is not the American Government rather a Government of the American corporations, of the American industral, commercial and railroad trusts, of the American banks,—in short, a Government of the American capitalists? And is it not possible that the proposals of this Government about the creation of a League of Nations will result in new chains for the peoples, in the organization of an international trust for the exploitation of the workers and the suppression of weak nations? In this latter case, Mr. President, you will not be in a position to reply to our questions, and we will say to the workers of all countries: Beware! Millions of your brothers, thrown at each others' throats by the bourgeoisie of all countries, are still perishing on the battlefields, and the capitalist leaders are already trying to come to an understanding for the purpose of suppressing with united forces those that remain alive, when they call to account the criminals who caused the war!

However, Mr. President, since we do not at all desire to wage war against the United States, even though your Government has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaires and your post is not yet taken by Eugene Debs, whom you have imprisoned; since we do not at all desire to wage war against England, even though the cabinet of Mr. Lloyd-George has not yet been replaced by a Council of People's Commissaires with MacLean at its head; since we have no desire to wage war against France, even though the capitalist Government of Clemenceau has not yet been replaced by a workmen's Government of Merrheim, just as we have concluded peace with the imperialistic government of Germany, with Emeperor William at its head, whom you, Mr. President, hold in no greater esteem than we, the Workmen's and Peasants' Revolutionary Government, hold you,—we finally propose to you, Mr. President, that you take up with your Allies the following questions and give us precise and business-like replies: do the governments of the United States, England and France intend to cease demanding the blood of the Russian people and the lives of Russian citizens, if the Russian people will agree to pay them a ransom, such as a man who has been suddenly attacked pays to the one who attacked him? If so, just what tribute do the governments of the United Sates, England and France demand of the Russian people? Do they demand concessions, that the railways, mines, gold deposits, etc., shall be handed over to them on certain conditions, or do they demand territorial concessions, some part of Siberia or Caucasia, or perhaps the Murmansk coast. We expect from you, Mr. President, that you will definitely state just what you and your Allies demand, and also whether the alliance between your government and the governments of the other Entente powers is in the nature of a combination which could be compared with a corporation for drawing dividends from Russia, or does your government and the other governments of the Entente powers have each separate and special demands, and what are they? Particularly are we interested to know the demands, and what are they? Particularly are we interested to know the demands of your French Ally with regard to the three billions of rubles which the Paris bankers loaned to the Government of the Czar—the oppressor of sia and the enemy of his own people? And you, President, as well as your French Allies, surely k that even if you and your Allies should succeed i slaving and covering with blood the whole terr of Russia—which will not be allowed by our h revolutionary Red Army—that even in that cas Russian people, worn out by the war and not ha had sufficient time to take advantage of the ben of the Soviet rule to elevate their national econo will be unable to pay to the French bankers the tribute for the billions that were used by the Gove ment of the Czar for purposes injurious to the peo Do your French Allies demand that a part of t tribute be paid in installments, and if so—what pe and do they anticipate that their claims will result similar claims by other creditors of the infam government of the Czar which has been overthro by the Russian people? We can hardly think t your Government and your Allies are without a re answer, when your and their troops are trying to a vance on our territory with the evident object seizing and enslaving our country. The Russian p ple through the People's Red Army are guarding th territory and are bravely fighting against your vasion and against the attacks of your Allies. B your Government and the Government of the oth powers of the Entente undoubtedly have well p pared plans, for the sake of which you are shedd the blood of your soldiers. We expect that you w state your demands very clearly and definitely. Shou we, however, be disappointed, should you fail to ply to our quite definite and precise questions, we w draw the only possible conclusion—that we are jus fied in the assumption that your government and governments of your Allies desire to get from Russian people a tribute both in money and in na ral resources of Russia, and territorial concessions well. We will tell this to the Russian people as w as to the toiling masses of other countries, and absence of a reply from you will serve for us a sile reply. The Russian people will then understand th the demand of your Government and of the Gover ments of your Allies are so severe and vast that yo do not even want to communicate them to the Russia Government.

People's Commissaire of Foreign Affairs,
G. W. Tschitscherin.

A report from Stockholm states that the Bolshevil government is evacuating *Petrograd* and plans to take refuge at Nijni-Novgorod, which is six hundred miles southeast of Petrograd.

It's not a bit of wonder that the great powers inter vene in Russia when the government carries on this, evacuating Petrograd when everyone thou they were in Moscow. Lenin and Trotzky mus wasting the money of the Russian people in a sha tul manner running all round the country like a co of tourists. The last report we had said that they w fleeing to the Finnish border from Moscow and n they are running south from Petrograd.

* * *

Our old friend "Superior Brains" has cropped again in the bourgeois press as follows:

"Three hundred and fifty thousand workmen on strike in Berlin. And the Liebknecht platfo mapped out on Bolshevist lines, demands confisca of great fortunes.

"You may confiscate the great fortunes; it has done a thousand times. The great fortunes wi piled up again. Superior intelligence does wh chooses with inferior intelligence."

Which we think is very nice taking into consi tion who is now using the "superior intelligence."

* * *

Dr. Karl Liebknecht, we learn from the "New Y Sun", is "Self-centered, self-willed, blind to all t impervious to all reason, incapable of logical tho or sober judgement, he runs amok against civiliza just as did the Kaiser and the Junker paranoi Suspicion, delusion of greatness, impossible proj and reckless methods class him like them in the of mental pathology. He is not only the latest perhaps the greatest of his country's misfortunes.

All of which proves that the Junkers wer right in putting him in jail, though we have thought that the Junkers were always in the Well, well one never knows.

* * *

Mr. Walter Long, British Colonial Secr very much concerned about the welfare of th of West Africa and urges the abolition of t traffic. Maybe Lipton has given him a co on all sales of tea to the benighted heather

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Manager Steinert

885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

The White Terror in Finland

Petrograd, August 8th.

From "The Weekly People", December 14, 1918

EVERY day Finnish Socialists arrive here who have succeeded in escaping from prison camps in Finland. They confirm, one and all without exception, the most horrible reports about the White Terror, about hunger and death from starvation. It has, however, come to the knowledge of the prisoners that the Socialist parties of other countries are protesting energetically, and this, although it has not, as yet, had any results in the treatment they receive, has nevertheless awakened joy and new hope. Your correspondent received yesterday a letter from one of his Finnish friends who, at present confined in the prison camp at Ekenas, managed to smuggle this letter through the lines. He writes among other things:

"What is this prisoners' camp but an antechamber of death?

"Here human shadows are walking about until they expire from exhaustion and hunger. The death rate increases day by day. At first the number of deaths per day amounted to from 20 to 30. Today, after the number of prisoners has been reduced by several thousand, and now amounts in all to about 5,000, the mortality rate has risen to 64 per day.

"One becomes so accustomed to this close proximity of death that men become callous and think nothing of eating their breakfasts with an odorous corpse right beside them. It happens that a corpse will lie for hours on a cot, or in the corridor, or outside on the sand—wherever it may have happened to fall. One day the bodies of two men from Prahestad lay in the sun near a water faucet. About fifty prisoners stood in line to get water and all passed by the two corpses without being seemingly much affected.

This morning, as I came out of my door, I found a corpse outside. Many die while in the latrines, and the latter, during the prevailing summer heat, emit a stench which alone is almost enough to kill.

"Some die after they have received a food parcel, others because they never receive any food from the outside. The oat bread and the half-done dried cod-soup cause stomach disorders so that no one who has to subsist on this food is free from them.

"It is a sad sight to observe how these shadows move about. One debilitated body supports another, both barely able to keep on their feet, they drag along listlessly, their eyes staring dully before them. All are weak and appear sunken. Those that still have a somewhat better appearance are orderlies or belong to the sanitary or kitchen personnel. But after sentence has been pronounced it will be all over with them as well. It is said that food parcels from the outside can be received for only seven more days after sentence has been passed.

"It would be great to be able to outlive all this but it is a lottery."

The man who brought this letter also gave us a partial statistical report of the mortality at the Ekenas prison camp, covering the period from June 4th to July 23rd.

For seven consecutive weeks the number of dead was 1,038; of this number 23 were shot.

The causes of death (for the same period) were: stomach diseases, 88; jundice, 8; other diseases, 18; general debility (starvation), 801; unknown causces (including those shot), 23.

From one of our best-known members of the "Jugenbund," himself a prisoner, your correspondent received, about fourteen days ago, a letter wherein he said:

"It seems that you outside in Europe have some sort of information of our suffering since you protested so sharply. Every time we read here how you in Sweden deal with those butchers, strikebreakers and Royal Swedish "Brigadists," we are ever so glad. The International still lives and the solidarity of the workers is not dead.

"With us everything is under suppression. The members of the "Jugenbund" have to suffer most.

We, who had to hold aloft the noble banner of the revolution, we have had much work to do and we had to make the greatest of sacrifices. As soon as the 'Whites' [adherents of the "white" or bourgeois Finnish government] find out that one has been a member of any S. D. U. K., they butcher him at once or, as they express it more 'refinedly,' we are being 'fusilladed.'

"At the Viborg camp, where I have been interned for one month together with Comrades A. and G. among many others, eight members of the 'Jugendbund' were shot without trial, among them one of our best novelists and poets, Kossi Almala. Because there were so many of us at Vibore—10,000—I succeeded in escaping. In Vibore, during the month of May, about sixty to seventy persons were butchered every day, among them several women.

"One day a teacher, Riku Penttinen, and his wife were shot, but their three-year old little son was spared! After we had been captured, on April 29, we did not get anything to eat for four days. Since then our food has consisted of four herrings and of herring soup on two occasions. They gave us bread now and then, about 30 grammes, but not regularly. We had to sleep on the cement floor of the old Russian barracks. Our daily labor consisted of ridding ourselfs of vermin. We were overrun with vermin. Every day we had to carry those comrades who had died to the morgue. 'Acute stomach catarrh,' that is what the 'Whites' called it.

"On Sunday, May 12, we were all in the courtyard of the prison. All was quiet and peaceful. All at once we heard the well-known rattle of a machine-gun. What was the matter? All around us men dropped. Four were killed on the spot. Seven were wounded and had to be carried to the hospital and of these two died soon thereafter. And why was the machine-gun turned upon helpless prisoners? Simply because the director, Wiklander, had taken too stiff a dose of whiskey for an eye-opener and had then gone forth to test the gun. In the papers this was afterwards referred to as a 'little mishap.' That same director used to pelt the prisoners with stones.

"There is now much work to be done by our 'Jugendbund' comrades. We have done our share during the revolution and shall continue to do so in the future. A special 'Jugendbund' company had been formed in Helsingfors. It fought against the Germans at the Karis front. Not many have survived. These brave young comrades are the heroes of the revolution.

"I am now reading all the trashy 'literature' that the 'Whites' are trying to feed us with. But they fail to convince me or any one else that the fault for the present catastrophe lies with the Finnish workers. The bourgeois are guilty and they feel and know it. That is proven by their treatment of us, by all their terroristic attempts to eliminate all traces of their guilt. Our salvation will come. It lies in the lap of the world revolution. And for that we live. Send our greeting to the proletariat of the world and convey to it that within us faith and fighting spirit are not dead.

"Long live the Zimmerwald International!"

Thus writes this Finnish comrade. From other sources I learn that the general conditions in Finland are indescribably bad for the working class. Unemployment is widespread. And in tens of thousands families, where the bread-winner has either been taken to a prison camp or has been shot, wives and children are starving to death. The authorities are doing nothing and hardly can do anything. The several bourgeois parties are disrupting and fighting each other and no one pays attention to the starving working class. Everywhere there is despair and misery. A splendid result of the 'war of liberation.'

The Revolution

Written by Ferdinand Freiligrath in 1848

Translated from the German by Edith Borg

And even if, with your hangman's vassals,
You capture him—a noble stag.
And even if you drive them, as Prisoners,
Straight and upright, within your fortress walls—
And even though, since many a day,
The hills are covered with their corpses,
Those hills, over whose green in sunrise's glow—the young peasant
Lays wreaths for her dead—
Yet I say to you—she is not dead.

And even though those flowing locks
their high foreheads you sheared away,
even though you seek as companions
murderer and the thief,
even though they wear Prisoners' garb,
in their laps, the bowls of prison fare,
even though they weave oakum and wool,
boldly I say to you:
is not dead.

even though you hunt them into exile,
hary them from land to land.
even though their wounded feet
y in the stream of distant waters,
never hangs she high her harp on Babel's willows.
so—she places it before her.

plays it defiantly—in defiance of you.
scoffs laughingly at her exile,
as she scoffed at the scaffold.

She sings a song, that makes you spring horrified from your chair,
That makes your heart—your cowardly heart—your false heart—
Shake in your body.
No songs of sorrow,
No song of tears,
No song of lamentng for those who fell
And even less—a song of mockery
At that abject interlude.

The beggar opera—which at present
You now act so clumsily;
How moth-eaten your Ermine!
How rotten also is your purple!
Oh no, what she sings to the waters
Is not the pain,
Not the ignominy,
It is a song of victory,
A song of triumph,
A song of the Great day of the future.
The future, which is no longer distant—
She speaks with bold prophesyings,
Even as your God spake—a short time since—
I was—I am—I shall be.

I shall be, and once again
I will go on ahead of the peoples.
On your necks, your heads,
On your crowns I shall stand
Deliverer—Avenger—Judge.

With drawn sword—shall I stretch out my arm
That the world may be redeemed.

You see me only in the prison;
You see me only in the pit;
You see me only as a wanderer
On the thorny path of exile,
You silly fools—do I not live
There, where your power has an end?
Have I not my abode
Behind each forehead?
In each Heart?
In every brain that thinks defiantly?
That carries itself high and unbowed?
Is my asylum not every breast
Which feels humanely,
And humanely beats?
Not in each workshop
Where blows fall?
Not in each hut, wherein one groans?

Am I not the breath of humanity,
Which restlessly thirsts for deliverance?
Therefore I shall be—
And once again I shall go on ahead of the Peoples
On your necks—your heads—on your crowns
I shall stand.
It is History's iron MUST;
It is no boasting—No threat.
The day glows hot.
How cool you wave
O willow leaves of Babylon!

Capitalistically Undeveloped Countries and Socialism

By M. Altschuler

SOME of the so-called Marxists are fond of laboring under the delusion that Socialism is not possible in any country which has not undergone a thorough process of capitalist development. They are also on the alert to quote disconnected phrases from Marx and Engels tending to prove the substantiality of their thesis. But upon careful examination of their arguments we are bound to come to the conclusion that both their arguments and the quotations torn from the original context are deceptive.

Marx and Engels have never, either in verbal or written form, committed themselves to the idea that Socialism is not possible in a capitalistically undeveloped country. What Marx and Engles insisted upon is that society is undergoing a gradual evolutionary process, that society is bound to pass through certain incomplete economic epochs in order to attain a socialized, co-operative form of economy. And by "society" Marx and Engels did not mean a particular country, but the entire human race; the "uncivilized" as well as the "civilized" regions of the globe, which are directly or indirectly involved in the process of capitalist development.

Of course, backward savage tribes like the Hottentots or Bushmen are not suitable material for a co-operative form of government (although good enough for capitalistic exploitation), as first, the consituation of their brains has not reached the level of thinking rationally and universally, prerequisite mental conditions for a complex form of government, and second, being situated in such regions as remove them from civilizing influences and traditions. But a country which is situated on the very edge of Civilization possesses in its organism the potentiality of being developed and transformed into a form of government that is widely prevalent in the adjacent countries.

Karl Marx has established a fundamental truth, equal in its importance to the doctrine of the origin of species as formulated by Darwin; that society is going through a process of historical stages, as Savagery, Barbarism, Medievalism, Feudalism, Capitalism, and that the latest will be Socialism. Upon analyzing the history of the human race we are bound to realize the validity of this almost axiomatic truth, as we find that almost every great modern nation has undergone this process of development or is in a state of such development. However, this process is to be understood as a general, and not as a particular or individual, one affecting every country under the sun. This process is strikingly noticeable in the primordial, primitive societies which, owing to peculiar geographic and climatic forces, were driven to abandon the rude, rustic notions, ideas and implements and seek better, more cultivated means of production. Likewise, in the modern era, it is these countries that are at first overwhelmed with a spirit of restlessness and activity, imbued with the desire to overthrow the antiquarian shackles of thinking and yearn for a happier future, which are situated in most favorable climatic and geographic regions.

Having this view in mind we come to understand why the races which occupy the most distant portions of the globe, are still living in a state of culure characteristic of the era of Barbarism, why the Spanish people are still lagging behind the normal course of Civilization, why the Chinese are just merely beginning to arise from the lethargy of helplessness which riveted them for centuries.

Hence it is geographic, climatic, and like fundamental conditions which are instrumental in either accelerating or impeding progress.

Therefore, this historical process of evolution of which Marx and Engels are sponsors, is affecting those nations and countries which are most favorable to further progression. The era of Feudalism or Capitalism is merely a compass, a symbol indicating the general process of human progress; it simply points out how far humanity has evoluted.

Feudalism was an inevitable state in the history of the human race, Capitalism was an unavoidable link in the chain of human progression, but neither of these stages are essential to the perpetuation of every nation forming a component member of the feudalistic or capitalistic eras. Feudalism is merely a symbol of a particular era, likewise, Capitalism is a symbol of another historical era, but an era may be capitalist historically and yet the era as an entity may not be entirely capitalistic.

In other words, although the capitalistic mode of production and distribution may characterize the general nature of the present epoch, yet it does not preclude the existence of states in the same era which, in their nature, are either characteristic of antiquarian times or of a system of society distinguished by its advanced co-operation and economic harmony.

And this is precisely the quintessence of Marxism and of the Marxian Historical Conception of History. What Marx attempted to prove is that the human race, and not a specific nation, is bound to pass, in its onward and forward procession, certain historic epochs each of which is distinguished by its peculiar modes of production and distribution of the means of livelihood.

Having this historical outlook, we are able to understand the so-called mysteries, "the anomalies of history" which so much perturb and stupefy many a thinker and so-called Marxist.

Utilizing this historical compass in our valuation of history, we are enabled to see the causes that make possible the occurrence of the phenomenal Russian Revolution which in its later phase has assumed the nature of Social Revolution.

How is it possible for a feudal, semi-civilized country like Russia to leap over Capitalism and establish Socialism? How is it feasible for an illiterate, semi-barbaric moujik to rise to such a height of mental and moral development, essential to the process of revolutionary, epoch-making changes? How is it conceivable for the Russian nation to manage a Socialist regime, a regime which presupposes the complex development of a capitalist state, cry the pseudo-Marxists? And they eagerly prophesy that the initial Socialist Republic is bound to fail, offering the Paris Commune as their favorable illustration. Poor, sophisticated Marxists!

True, Russia has been governed by a feudal, militaristic regime, so reactionary in its nature that it even impeded the normal growth of capitalist industries. The Capitalists, or the Bourgeoisie, of Russia were revolting against the damnable, reactionary policies of the Czar, just as the oppressed and the downtrodden peasants and workers did. And it is precisely because Capitalism was impeded in Russia, that the power of the capitalistic class was abortive, that the downfall of Czarism and the ultimate triumph of the oppressed was possible.

Russia may not be entirely ready for Socialism in an economic sense, but she was certainly ready for it morally and mentally even in the 19th century. Being on the very edge of European civilization, she has always been the hive of European advanced thought and ideals. The works of Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Kausky, Lassal, Bebel, and of other revolutionary luminaries have always found an enthusiastic response on the part of the "semi-civilized" Russians: in fact, revolutionary literature was more widely read in "the land of the knout" than in classical England, the land of the "civilized, class-conscious" worker; and the pinnacle of capitalist development.

The Russian worker and peasant, denied all public education, have been yearning for light; underground, in cellars, in basements, in stables, the workers of Russia assembled and were instructed in the highest social sciences and imbued with intellectual vision and ideals by the returned European exiles. The intelligenzia of Russia have been systematically organizing campaigns of education, despite all oppression and suppression—and this remarkable outburst on the part of the proletariat is a logical sequence of the underground propaganda and agitation carried on unceasingly by the cultured ideafists for the last 40 or 50 years.

No other workers of Europe, with the exception of the German, have been trained in the fundamental tenets of Socialism and other kindred sciences as has the Russian "moujik," the despicable character in the eyes of the "superior" European.

The Russian Revolution is a complete success, the initial Socialist Republic is a positive triumph, both from an economic and a moral standpoint—provided the Russians are left alone to mold their own destiny and the advanced "proletariat" of the developed capitalist countries will assist the Russians by supplying them with material means and food.

The Russian Revolution, if it fails—though now when the German Revolution seems to have become an accomplished fact it is hardly possible that it will fail—will fail either because of foreign intervention or the denial of economic help on the part of neighbors.

There is a bright star on the hitherto cloudy horizon: the workers of Europe are rising; one can already the onward tread of the awakened giant, the proletariat of Europe. Stirred by the clarion call of the magnificent Russian Socialist Republic, the workers of Europe are taking possession of the economic functions of their countries thus ascertaining their own rights and assuring the successes of the Russian and German Republics.

Socialism is the symbol of the future, and that country which is most susceptible by its peculiar environment to receive revolutionary principles and ideals, is ripe for the epoch-making task of establishing the initial Co-operative Commonwealth.

The German working class was long ready for the Social Revolution, but owing to the insurmountable odds it had to contend with, on the one hand, with powerful bureaucratic, militaristic regime, on the other hand, with the traitorous, discordant tendencies in its own ranks, the advent of the Social Revolution was greatly prolonged. In Russia the majority of the people were equally ready for the Social Revolution—the main obstacle in the way being the colossal, incompetent hierarchy of Czarism, and once that bulwark of reaction was crushed—the road was left clear for the masses.

The elements of opposition in Russia are very insignificant in numbers, and even their combined force can be easily kept in check by the proletariat, which has the military power under its command.

Capitalism, therefore, although an inevitable in the process of human society, is not necessary an essential condition to every country form component member of the Capitalist era.

The Russian proletariat and peasantry, although subject to unifersal capitalist oppression, have nevertheless, learned the bitter lessons of Capitalism, by the experience at home and abroad, and by intellectual training. The lure of "capitalist civilization" cannot bamboozle a people whose intellect and vision have seen a grander and more harmonious era.

It would appear that the peace Conference is not a non-essential industry. The "New York Times" tells us in a headline "Roosevelt drafts League of Nations," so we may consider the matter closed.

The Bureau of Misinformation

By Gregory Weinstein

A MINENT American journalist some time ago expressed his belief that the American Bureau on Public Information, headed by the rather well-known Mr. Creel, was established, and is functioning, for the purpose of "immortalizing" the name of President Wilson. This statement has a certain amount of foundation, in fact. The Committee on Public Information never loses a chance to write in glowing terms of this or that "wise" step taken by President Wilson and his government. But it generally executes this in such a spirit of ignorance and so clumsily that even an American journalist used to all sorts of vicissitudes in life, while reading the official utterances of the Bureau experiences a surfeited feeling, to such an extent does that syrupy-sweet odor of the court-kitchen emanate therefrom! It is a well-established fact that court scribes very often demonstrate overzealousness. The officals working in the Committee on Public Information suffer from this sin.

Of course if the bureau merely concerned itself with immortalizing President Wilson, if it devoted its energies exclusively in this direction, little harm would result from it. But the Committee on Public Information puts a wider interpretation or its tasks: it aims to inform the public, not only about the domestic and foreign policy of the United States, but it attempts to disseminate information concerning world events: it definitely strives to influence the public opinion of the country, and, having at its service a centralized apparatus created by war, it carefully selects and arranges the information, thereby giving it a coloring most advantageous to the Committee's wishes.

The "fame" attained quite recently by the Bureau on Public Information, through the publication of forged documents purporting to discredit the Russian Soviet Government, is still green in the memory.

Creel and Sisson, the directors of this Bureau, imply got "in Dutch," but, as some "kind-hearted" people said at the time, "of course they did not know that the documents published by them were forged; their guilt, if any, consists in being too light-headed, too trusting, too careless. . . ."

But being 'too trusting' and 'light-headed' has nothing to do with the case. The publication of the 'famous' documents came about as an integral part of the slanderous campaign which has, up till the present moment, been waged, in America against the Russian Soviet Republic. The Committee on Public Information played merely the part of an official body firing the first shot, and, of course, as far as the methods and means used by it, as well as by the rest of the foes of the Russian Republic, are concerned, this body is not over-fastidious.

That this is precisely the case is being confirmed by the "activity" of the special "Russian Department," recently established as a branch of the Committee on Public Information. In a circular letter sent out by this department to Russian societies in America it states that the "purpose of the organization is the distribution among the Russian people, through the agency of their own newspapers, organizations and societies, of official governmental information and news having an especial interest for them." A commendable purpose, indeed, and rather a useful one, at the first glance. Enlightening Russian citizens in America is a worthy task. But the trouble is that this task has been undertaken by a Bureau of a Government which, as a matter of fact, conducts hostile operations against Soviet Russia. And, naturally, the major part of the information which it deems necessary to bring to the attention of the Russian citizens in America is calculated to arouse enmity among these citizens towards the proletarian revolution and the Soviet Government.

This would not, in itself, be so bad. The Russian workmen and peasants in America are capable of carefully scrutinizing the material furnished by this "anxious" Information Bureau. They know the value of this material; they know too well that the mercenary scribes and officials of a Government that has sent its troops to Russia for the purpose of destroying the Soviets, have absolutely nothing favorable to say of Bolshevik Russia.

One could have ignored the task of obscuring the mind in which the "Russian Department" of the Information Bureau is busily engaged, had not this official institution resorted to obviously criminal means in its "educational" activity.

To substantiate our charge we give below a translation of a letter sent by the manager of the "Russian Department" of the Information Bureau,— J. Polonsky,—to a certain doctor in Chicago:

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION.
RUSSIAN DEPARTMENT.
6 West 48th Street, New York.
November 1.

Dear Doctor;—In a few days I shall send out a circular letter in which I solicit literary participation in our Bureau. Since that circular letter was also intended for you, I am taking the opportunity of writing you this letter, in order to explain the nature of our general request. My task is to explain events among the Russians in America. It is my duty to distribute articles to the Russian and American press, pointing out that it is the expressel desire of the Russians to uphold the policy of the American Government. For the present, I would kindly ask you to write an article for our Bureau in which you should express approximately the aspirations of the entire Russian colony, or the major part of it, to the effect that President Wilson's policy towards the Bolsheviki has been just, and that the whole Russian colony in America has faith in the President as the true representative of its interests and is capable of defending its rights in a proper manner at the Peace Conference. Should such an article prove of any special interest it will be forwarded to the American press with which we have connections.

In accordance with the established rule of our Bureau, as well as of any other bureau, an article is mailed without the author's signature, having only the signature of the official name of our Bureau affixed.

Dr. Rosset has spoken very highly about you, as a person who would be always willing to assist in educational work, and, therefore, I hope you will lend your assistance.

Very truly yours,

Committee on Public Information,
Russian Department,
(signed) Joseph Polonsky,
Manager.

This document tells its own tale. The Committee on Public Information authorizes a certain doctor to state in the name of the Russian colony in America that the latter approves the President's policy towards Soviet Russia, and that the colony intrusts to him the defense of her interests at the Peace Conference. In other words, the Committee on Public Information most impudently spurs an individual to fraudulent action.

Fine "educational" activity—is it not?

"Liebknecht Autocracy"

THE folowing is from the editorial page of the New York "Globe" for December 17:

"'Editor Globe:—It is with profound interest that I read your editorial on the repentance of Germany in to-day's issue of The Globe and therefore would like to ask the following questions: If the present rulers of Germany—namely, the fake Socialists Ebert, Scheidemann & Co.—are mere substitutes for the Hohenzollern, why don't you undertake an energetic propaganda in your highly intellectial editorials in favor of the Spartacus group, headed by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who always opposed the Hohenzollern? If the fake Socialists helped to furnish weapons for murderers by spreading the lie that Germany was attacked, why don't you welcome the true exponents of democracy who spent years in jail because they tried to expose that shameful lie?

"'A. W. SEIDEN.'

"Liebknecht is deserving of honor for courageously refusing to bow the knee to the lie that Germany was attacked. He is to be acquitted of complicity in the crime of the murderous militarists. But although not a participant in the crime committed, he advertises the purpose to commit one in the future. He proposes to wage war on the democratic peoples if they do not adopt Bolshevism. He wants no peaceful world. He is as much a militarist, although with a different objective, as the crown prince. 'Submit to me, or I will conquer you,' said the kaiser to the old Russia. 'Submit to me and Lenine or we will attack you' says Liebknecht. The doctrines of the kaiser Socialists and Liebknecht come to the same thing so far as war-making is concerned. Both have the autocratic spirit, and it is difficult to see how an American can approve of either."

The contemptible chauvinism of this reply merely furnishes another instance of the methods to which Capitalism and its apologists are driven by the march of events. When the war was on, Liebknecht was the one heroic figure in Germany, Schiedemann was anathema. In America the men who, like Debs, took the Liebknecht stand were denounced as Scheidmanns, and those who assumed the craven attitude of Scheidemann, such as Spargo, Walling, Benson, Simons, Russell, et al, were hailed as the spiritual kin of Liebknecht. Now that the people of the Central Empires have awakened to the enormity of the crime of international capital, and are endeavoring, in their efforts to abolish Capitalism, to atone for their error in being a party to that crime, the Scheidemanns of Germany are attempting to hold them in check and perpetuate Capitalism, dressed in the gaudy finery of bourgeois democracy, amid the plaudits of the bourgeoisie everywhere.

Only the voices of the Liebknechts cry: "Revolt! Revolt! You have swept away the old Feudal autocracy, sweep away also bourgeoisie democracy, and on the ruins of the old system raise the new structure of industrial democracy."

And against the Liebknechts the bourgeoisie now hurl their calumnies. The pretense of admiration for his old stand is discarded in the denunciation of his present actions—actions the logical outcome of his former position.

Surely the "Globe" speaks truly, more truly than, perhaps, it knows, when it says: "He wants no peaceful world."

The Liebknechts want "no peaceful world" wherein men toil for others' gain, where hunger nips the vitals of the little children that others may waste the earth's substance, where women sell their bodies for their masters' gold, where misery stalks that luxury may flourish, where fetid slums stink to the skies that palaces may house the few, where grinding labor crushes the masses that the classes may live in idleness. Surely they want no such peaceful world, and the dumb millions want it not either.

For months in Russia, Lenin, forced into hiding, cried with the same voice to the stumbling masses: "Revolt! Revolt!" and they rose, timidly, half-fearful of themselves, only to be beaten back. But still the cry ever sounded: "Revolt! Revolt! Rise, throw off your shackles! Raise, you are all powerful if you know your strength! Rise, you are the masters of the world!" And finally the masses, stumbling no longer, rose in their might, sweeping away the last vestiges of the old order, and ushering in the new era on the thunder of their voices. The echo of that thunder is to-day shaking Germany. Mingling with the echo are new voices, faint and indistinct, as yet, but growing louder and clearer with each passing phase, until they too will sweep away the age of misery and in turn hear the echo of their triumphant cries wafted back from farther fields.

The International Movement

Russia Greets the German Proletariat

THE last Soviet Congress, after reviewing the progress of events in Germany and the line-up of the different forces sent the following resolution by wireless to the Council of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors:

"Soldiers, Sailors and Workers: Do not drop the weapons from your hands. The safety of the revolution demands that weapons in hand you take over the power and form a Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' government under the leadership of Liebknecht. Don't be betrayed by promises of a Constitutional Assemblage."

Rosa Luxemburg's Program

Rosa Luxemburg, in an article published in Die Rote Fane, the organ of the Spartacus Group, advocated the following program:

The re-building and re-election of the local Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

The constant session of these representatives of the masses and the transmission of the real political power from the small committee of the Executive Council to the broader base of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils.

The immediate convocation of a state parliament of workers and soldiers for the purpose of organizing the proletariat of all Germany as a class; in this class the rural proletariat must be immediately organized, not as peasants, who as a group have so far stood aloof from the revolution, but as the rural section of the proletariat.

The formation of a Red Guard of the proletariat for the protection of the revolution and also the creation of a Workers' militia, in order to prevent the absolutist and militarist organ of the police state from administering the affairs of the courts and the army.

Direct confiscation of land, especially the great landed estates, as a provisional first step in securing and maintaining the food supply of the people.

To immediately summon a Workers' World Congress in Germany for the purpose of letting the Socialist and International character of the revolution be revealed in a clear light, because only in the International, in the world revolution of the proletariat, is the future of the German Revolution secure.

A Belgian View of the International

An article in the "Socialiste Belge," entitled "The International Is Dead—Long Live the International," comments on the attempts of the bourgeois press of all countries to deceive the workers into the belief that the international solidarity of the thinking proletariat is a myth, as follows:

"It is amusing to see how the Chauvinist press, both of the neutral and the belligerent countries continues to harp on its favorite theme—The International is dead! If this press is to be believed, it died in August, 1914: and yet this same press is continually berating the corpse. Strange! Generally one leaves a corpse in peace. . . .

"The International is immortal, since it personifies the Socialist ideal. Its vital, living force grows day by day, so that it is stronger than ever. The government of the belligerent nations, such as, for example, the English, use the shabbiest means to prevent the Red International from carrying through its historic mission. Troelstra is refused a passport on the pretext that he is pro-German.

"Is it thus one acts towards the dead? What an awakening it will be when the International throws all its weight and power into the balance to realize the program, the aspirations, the ideals of the international brotherhood of the workers of the world."

And this from a Belgian newspaper, printed in Belgium, read by the workers of Belgium. Not a yelp for blood! Truly the International is immortal, when it can stand against the bloody holocaust that for four years has deluged the world in blood, when from the little nation that suffered most a voice cries its immortality to the world, and protests against the machinations of the English bourgeoisie—the self-styled defenders of Belgium.

The First International vanished. An inglorious death met the second International. But the International still lives, still is the personification of the great watchword: "Workers of all countries, unite!" The first and second Internationals have gone, but now comes the third to once more sound the clarion call, the revolutionary red Third International!

Activities in France

In its issue of October 15, "Populaire," the organ of the Centre Socialists, now the French majority party, reports that at a large meeting held in Paris, Jean Longuet, leader of the Centerists, finished his address by sending the salutations of French Socialism to all those who are suffering in the cause of international Socialism. Each of the names he mentioned was greeted with tremendous applause: "Lazzari and Serrati, in Italy; Eugene V. Debs, in America; Liebknecht, Clara Zetkin, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, in Germany, and Friedrich Adler, in Austria." "To this glorious list," said Longuet, "I must add the heroic combatants of the Russian Revolution." Prolonged acclamation, mingled with cries of "Long live the Soviet Republic," greeted the mention of Russia.

Morgari, the Italian Socialist Deputy, speaking at the same meeting on the question of Alsace-Lorraine, said: "Bismarck took it away from you, having stabbed you with the murderer's knife. Do not imitate him, but settle the question by an appeal to justice."

In the same issue of "Populaire" we find the following editorial comment on the situation as it was then:

"The fall of the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg dynasties is now predicted, but if so, the Republics that will rise at Berlin and Vienna will surely deserve the epithet "Socialist," for it is the Socialists who will found them. Those men are wrong, who still believe that a political change can take place in the world without being accompanied by a social upheaval. Henceforth, kings and emperors will not fall without the propertied classes being involved in their collapse, and this is a conclusion of which certain people do not seize the finer points."

The Trend in Italy

In its issue of September 28, "L'Avanti," the organ of the Italian Socialist Party, comments on the Longuet resolution, which comes out "Unfavorably towards Allied intervention in Russia," pointing out the uselessness of such a resolution. "Our militarists will trouble themselves mightily about one "disapproval" more or less! They have their press, a real weapon with which to crush any liberal ideas, and can quickly neutralize our "disapproval." What, after all, is this program? As regards ideas, an honest declaration. As regards action, nothing, less than nothing. A manoeuvre to gain time, or, if you like, a narcotic program."

In its issue of September 25, the same paper criticizes the memorandum of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference and calls it "essentially callaborationist, purely Jingoistic and an absolute negation of Socialism. . .

"This memoarndum," it continues, "speaks in the name of the Socialists who have accepted the Union Sacre, who stand behind their governments, and are anxious to save the eggs in the baskets of their respective bourgeoise. It is the Sidney Webbs speaking to the Scheidemanns. Such Socialists naturally turn to the Socialists in the enemy camp who have taken a similar stand, and deal as enemies with enemies, only a little more graciously than rulers and generals. But obviously this is not our positiin. We have never wished anything in common with the rulers, to whom we have left the full responsibility for their policies. We consider Karl Liebknecht and Fritz Adler our comrades, who think and feel as ourselves, and we have, therefore, no need to present them with memoranda of war aims, and ask them, like merchants at a fair, for theirs in exchange."

Mass Meeting

under the auspises of the

Russian Workers' Council
OF BOSTON

Sunday, December 22
at 2 P. M.
in

Liberty Hall
2181 WASHINGTON STREET
Near Dudley Street Station

Speakers:

Nicholas I. Hourwich
Associate Editor of "Novy Mir"

Louis C. Fraina

ADMISSION FREE

Industrial Unionism in Australia

At the congress of Victorian unions held to discuss the formation of One-Big-Union, the proposal to affirm the necessity of one big union for the whole country was overwhelmingly carried by a vote of over three to one. The older craft unions, many of which are controlled by Great Britain, were opposed to the new idea, but they were completely swept aside by the big Australian unions, such as the Railway Workers Building Trades and the Australian Workers' Union

The vote on the question took place amid scenes of tremendous enthusiasm. When it was found that the newer unionism had scored its initial victory, the delegates rose cheering and singing I. W. W. songs. The galleries were packed with members of the Socialist Party, who joined in the jubiliating.

It was announced by the advocates of the newer unionism that their purpose will be to abolish the capitalist system and establish the Co-operative Commonwealth. This object, they maintain, will be achieved by "repeated assaults on the citadels of Capitalism."

One Aspect of American Labor

The following resolution was passed by the Connolly Club of New York:—

Whereas on Nov. 15, 1918, at the Pan-American Labor Conference held at Laredo, Texas, a resolution was submitted by the Mexican Delegates which provided for the reaching of:

"An agreement as to the best way for finding honorable means to exert influence so that justice and protection will be imparted to those workingmen who for various reasons are deprived of their liberty in the jails of the United States."

Whereas, according to the New York Times' report of the proceedings which appeared on page 2, col. 2, of the Nov. 16th issue of above newspaper, Chas. H. Moyer, President of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, took the floor and bitterly denounced Wm. D. Haywood, "as a disorganizing, disloyal, ungrateful force in the labor movement, and warned Mexican workers, especially miners ,against him. Also, Daniel E. Tobin, the *Radical* (?) Treasurer of the A. F. of L., and president of the Teamsters' International Union took the opportunity to denounce the I. W. W. "as a force disruptive of the Labor Movement, disloyal to the Nation in its time of crisis, disruptive of progress and a menace to industry."

Whereas at this same Conference, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor in a speech made clear the "unalterable opposition of the A. F. of L. to Bolshevism, I. W. W.-ism and all the forces of dissolution and discontent.

Therefor be it resolved by the Connolly Club of New York, that the attack upon the I. W. W., and Bolshevism by these "Labor Leaders" is a confession on their part that they are not in touch with the spirit dominating the workers in these organizations, be it further resolved that this club looks with horror upon an condemns in unmeasured terms, the action of the spokesmen for labor in condemning men who are serving long sentences in Leavenworth and other prisons for no other reasons than loyalty to their class.

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to Wm. D. Haywood and other imprisoned workers connected with the I. W. W. and that this resolution be placed upon the minutes of the Connolly Club.